

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 IO-03 NEA-06 NSC-05 NSCE-00 SP-02

PM-03 L-01 INR-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 SAJ-01 ACDA-10

OES-02 PRS-01 CU-02 EB-03 /067 W

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R 021641Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8064

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 08198

LIMDIS

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: XGDS1

TAGS: PFOR, UR, FR

SUBJECT: QUAI COMMENTS ON CHIRAC VISIT

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REF: MOSCOW 4335

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: QUAI POLITICAL DIRECTOR CONFIRMED THAT CENTRAL ISSUE DURING CHIRAC'S MOSCOW VISIT WAS CSCE. DISCUSSION WAS UNPRODUCTIVE ON BASKET III, ACRI-MONIOUS ON FRENCH LINKAGE OF QRR'S WITH OTHER PRINCIPLES. FRENCH AND SOVIET CSCE DELEGATIONS WERE INSTRUCTED TO REVIEW MAJOR CSCE ISSUES, INCLUDING CBM'S AND TO ADVISE GOVERNMENTS ON TACTICS. BREZHNEV DESCRIBED AS HAVING AGED NOTICEABLY. END SUMMARY.

2. QUAI POLITICAL DIRECTOR DE LABOULAYE, WHO ACCOMPANIED CHIRAC TO MOSCOW, OFFERED DCM SOME AMPLIFICATIONS OF DEBRIEFING BY FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW (REFTEL).

3. CSCE:

DE LABOULAYE CONFIRMED THAT CSCE WAS BY FAR THE MOST TIME-CONSUMING AND DIFFICULT SUBJECT DISCUSSED, PARTLY BECAUSE NEITHER KOSYGIN NOR CHIRAC HAD DONE THEIR HOMEWORK ON THEIR FILES. KOSYGIN REPEATEDLY HAD TO READ FROM HIS NOTES AND CONSULT HIS ADVISERS. TAKEN TOGETHER WITH TRANSLATIONS AND INTRINSIC COMPLEXITY OF SUBJECT, CSCE DISCUSSION THEREFORE WENT ON FOR "MANY HOURS."

4. BASKET III:

KOSYGIN OPENED BY BLUNTLY CHIDING CHIRAC OVER FRENCH INSISTENCE ON BASKET III ISSUES -- SAYING THAT WHAT WEST WAS REALLY AFTER WAS TO OPEN "NIGHT CLUBS IN MOSCOW." CHIRAC RESPONDED EQUALLY FIRMLY THAT FRENCH HAD NOT BEEN HAPPY WITH POSITIONS SOVIETS HAD TAKEN IN LAST MONTHS IN GENEVA. NO PROGRESS WAS MADE, PARTICULARLY ON QUESTION OF SOVIET CONCESSIONS ON FRENCH READING ROOMS.

5. QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND PEACEFUL CHANGE:

DISCUSSION BECAME EVEN MORE TENSE AND ACRIMONIOUS OVER RECENT FRENCH LINKAGE OF QRR'S WITH "PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS" AND "EQUAL VALUE OF PRINCIPLES." CONFIDENTIAL

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KOSYGIN ACCUSED FRENCH OF "CREATING ATMOSPHERE OF SUSPICION," AND DOING "EVERYTHING POSSIBLE" TO MAKE IT "MORE DIFFICULT TO REACH JUNE 30 GOAL FOR CSCE SUMMIT." IN LATER MEETING, GROMYKO RESUMED THIS OFFENSIVE WITH SAUVAGNARGUES IN AN EXCEPTIONALLY HARSH ATTACK. LATTER HELD FIRM, EXPLAINED THAT THE FRENCH POSITION ON THIS QUESTION WAS TACTICAL, AND THAT IT WILL BE RELAXED ONCE THE QRR PROBLEM IS SOLVED. THE SOVIETS SAID, FOR THEIR

PART, THAT THEY WOULD "FIGHT TO THE DEATH" FOR A GENERAL AGREEMENT ON THE QRR ISSUE, A STATEMENT, DE LABOULAYE SAID, THE FRENCH DELEGATION FOUND SURPRISING, SINCE THEY WERE NOT CONFIDENT THAT THE NEUTRALS CAN BE BROUGHT TO ACCEPT A QRR SOLUTION WITHOUT A MANEUVER SUCH AS LINKING IT TO OTHER ISSUES.

6. IN THE END, IT WAS AGREED THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WOULD INSTRUCT THEIR CSCE DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA THAT THEY WISHED TO RECEIVE THEIR "ADVICE" AS TO (A) CHANCES OF GETTING CSCE AGREEMENT ON KEY REMAINING ISSUES, I.E., EQUAL VALUE OF PRINCIPLES, CBM'S AND QRR'S, AND (B) THE

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R 021641Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 08198

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TACTICS THE TWO GOVERNMENTS SHOULD PURSUE. (COMMENT: WE NOTE THAT DE LABOULAYE'S FORMULATION DIFFERS SOMEWHAT FROM AMBASSADOR VIMONT'S ACCOUNT (REFTEL), PARTICULARLY IN THAT DE LABOULAYE DID NOT SAY THAT THE TWO DELEGATIONS WERE ASKED TO "SETTLE" THESE QUESTIONS.)

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7. CBM'S

IN RESPONSE TO GROMYKO'S EXPECTED PITCH FOR A "VOLUNTARY" CBM FORMULA, THE FRENCH RESPONDED SUBSTANTIALLY AS REPORTED MOSCOW'S REFTEL. DE LABOULAYE SAID THEY DID DEMUR SOMEWHAT BY POINTING OUT THAT "EVERYTHING IN CSCE IS IN EFFECT VOLUNTARY." HOWEVER, NO SPECIFIC CBM FORMULAS WERE DISCUSSED. QUAI HAS INSTRUCTED THEIR GENEVA DELEGATION TO EXAMINE THE IMPLICATIONS OF A "VOLUNTARY" CBM ARRANGEMENT UNDER VARIOUS ALTERNATIVE ASSUMPTIONS, I.E., AS TO SIZE OF NOTIFICATION AREAS AND NUMBERS OF THE FORCES INVOLVED. DE LABOULAYE COMMENTED THAT FRENCH IN FACT DO SEE SOME ADVANTAGES IN FINDING A "VOLUNTARY" FORMULA IF, BY BEING SUFFICIENTLY PRECISE, IT COULD EXERT MORAL SUASION ON SOVIETS IN DETAILED AND MEANINGFUL FASHION.

8. COMMUNIQUE:

FINAL TUSSLE ON COMMUNIQUE CENTERED ON QUESTION OF FORMULATING LANGUAGE REGARDING TIMING OF CSCE'S THIRD STAGE. DE LABOULAYE TOOK SOME PRIDE IN FACT THAT TEXT ULTIMATELY AGREED TO ON THIS POINT IS SIMILAR TO, BUT IN FACT JUST A SHADE MORE RESERVED THAN RAMBOUILLET LANGUAGE, A SUBTLETY HIS SOVIET COUNTERPART APPARENTLY DID NOT CATCH.

9. BILATERAL ISSUES:

CHIRAC ALSO REVIEWED IN DETAIL WHOLE RANGE OF PENDING BILATERAL ECONOMIC ISSUES WITH THE USSR AND MADE SOME PROGRESS IN PERSUADING SOVIETS THAT FRENCH COULD NOT ACCEPT PAYMENT IN KIND FROM PLANTS FRENCH ARE PREPARED TO DELIVER, I.E., FUTURE ALUMINUM PRODUCTION FROM THE

FRENCH-SOVIET ALUMINUM PLANT PROJECT. DE LABOULAYE  
CONFIRMED THAT THE TWO AGREEMENTS SIGNED (REFTEL) WERE  
LAST MINUTE EFFORTS OF NEGLIGIBLE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE.

10. BREZHNEV'S HEALTH AND FUTURE:

LIKE AMBASSADOR VIMONT IN MOSCOW, DE LABOULAYE  
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ALSO WAS NOT ABLE TO PROVIDE DETAILS ON CHIRAC'S LONG  
MEETING WITH BREZHNEV, BEYOND SAYING THAT IT WAS VERY  
GENERAL AND RAMBLING. ACCORDING TO DE LABOULAYE,  
BREZHNEV HAS AGED NOTICEABLY, REPEATS HIMSELF OFTEN,  
TIRES EASILY AND HAS ONLY BROAD GRASP OF ISSUES.  
DE LABOULAYE'S PERSONAL ASSESSMENT OF MOSCOW SITUATION  
IS THAT SOVIETS DECIDED SOME TIME AGO TO HAVE A NORMAL,  
CIVILIZED TRANSFER OF POWER BEFORE THE END OF 1975, AND  
THAT IT IS FOR THAT REASON THAT THEY ARE PRESSING SO  
HARD ON CSCE TIMING.  
RUSH

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## Message Attributes

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